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Proceedings at Boston, May 7th, 1884.

THE Society met, as usual, in the Library of the American Academy, at ten o'clock. The meeting was called to order by the Vice-President, Dr. N. G. Clark, of Boston.

The minutes of last autumn's meeting were read and approved, and the order of business for the day was announced. The reports of the retiring officers were then presented.

The Treasurer's summary of accounts was referred to Messrs. Avery and Hall as a Committee of Audit, and found correct; it is as follows:

RECEIPTS.	
Balance on hand, May 2d, 1883, - - - - -	\$984.47
Annual assessments paid in, - - - - -	\$95.00
Sale of the Journal, - - - - -	72.62
Interest on deposit in Savings Bank, - - - - -	39.25
Total receipts for the year, - - - - -	206.87
	<u>\$1,191.34</u>
EXPENDITURES.	
Printing of Proceedings, - - - - -	\$134.90
Expenses of Library and Correspondence, - - - - -	18.50
Total expenditures of the year, - - - - -	\$153.40
Balance on hand, May 7th, 1884, - - - - -	1,037.94
	<u>\$1,191.34</u>

The Bradley type-fund now amounts to \$955.53.

The Librarian reported the following additions to the Library: 50 whole volumes, 49 parts of volumes, 64 pamphlets, and one manuscript. The accessions were chiefly by exchange. The whole number of titles is now, of printed books, 4263, and of manuscripts, 141.

The Committee of Publication announced that the second half of volume xi. of the Journal was not yet in the printer's hands, but that there was a good prospect of completing it soon, by the issue of Professor Bloomfield's edition of the *Kauçika Sūtra* (which is now nearly ready for the press), or otherwise.

The Directors announced that, in response to an invitation from the Johns Hopkins University, they had appointed the autumn meeting to be held in Baltimore, and had made Messrs. Gilman and Bloomfield and the Corresponding Secretary a Committee of Arrangements. The date was to be Wednesday, October 29th, unless the Committee found reason to change it. They had reappointed the Committee of Publication of last year, substi-

tuting the name of Professor Toy for that of the late Dr. Abbot. The Committee now consists of Messrs. Salisbury, Toy, Van Name, Ward, and Whitney. The Directors proposed and recommended to the Society for election the following persons:

As Corporate Members—

Mr. Robert Arrowsmith, of New York ;
Gen. Henry B. Carrington, of Boston ;
Mr. Harry T. Peck, of New York ;
Mr. Herbert W. Smyth, of Williamstown, Mass. ;
Prof. John Phelps Taylor, of Andover, Mass.

The gentlemen thus proposed were elected without dissent.

The presiding officer appointed Messrs. Dickerman, Crane, and Lyon a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, and the following ticket, brought in and proposed by them, was elected without dissent:

President—Professor W. D. Whitney, Ph.D., LL.D., of New Haven.

Vice-Presidents—Rev. A. P. Peabody, D.D., of Cambridge; Professor E. E. Salisbury, LL.D., of New Haven; Rev. W. H. Ward, D.D., of New York.

Recording Secretary—Professor C. H. Toy, D.D., LL.D., of Cambridge.

Corresponding Secretary—Professor C. R. Lanman, Ph.D., of Cambridge.

Secretary of the Classical Section—Professor W. W. Goodwin, Ph.D., LL.D., of Cambridge.

Treasurer and Librarian—Mr. Addison Van Name, of New Haven.

Directors—Professor John Avery, of Brunswick, Maine; Professor Joseph H. Thayer, D.D., of Cambridge; Mr. A. I. Cotheal and Professor Charles Short, LL.D., of New York; Professor Isaac H. Hall, Ph.D., of Philadelphia; and President Daniel C. Gilman, LL.D., and Professor Maurice Bloomfield, Ph.D., of Baltimore.

The Corresponding Secretary (Prof. Whitney) read the names of the members who had died during the preceding year: namely, of the Corporate Members—

Prof. Ezra Abbot, of Cambridge ;
Prof. Arnold Guyot, of Princeton ;
Mr. Richard S. Fellowes, of New Haven ;
Prof. S. Wells Williams, of New Haven.

and of the Honorary Member—

Safvet Pasha, of Constantinople.

Prof. Whitney remarked upon the unusually severe losses of the Society during the past year, and upon the life and work of the gentlemen just named, especially in their relations to the Society. In particular, he spoke of the character and achievements of the late President, Prof. Williams. He recounted the services of Dr. Williams in the conduct of the diplomatic intercourse

between China and the United States, and his successful efforts to procure the insertion of the "toleration clause" in the Tientsin treaty of 1858, and spoke finally of the results of his persistent and well-directed literary activity. He also read a letter from Dr. D. B. McCartee, who spoke with deep feeling of his life-long intercourse and friendship with Dr. Williams, and of the latter's courage as a pioneer, his zeal in promoting the Christian religion, and his extraordinary productivity. Prof. Thayer paid a hearty and fitting tribute to the memory of his friend, Prof. Abbot, calling to mind his profound and varied learning, and the beauty and modesty of his character. He was followed by Prof. Hall, who spoke of Prof. Abbot's self-sacrificing devotion to his friends.

On motion, a Committee, consisting of Dr. Clark, Prof. Whitney, and Prof. Toy, was appointed to make some suitable expression of the feelings of the Society respecting its loss in the death of Messrs. Williams and Abbot. The following minutes were prepared by them and unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society desires to put on record its sense of the great loss sustained by the world of scholars and by this Society, in the death of its President, the Hon. Samuel Wells Williams, LL.D. He was a man of rare intellectual gifts, of singular industry, and of fidelity to all the trusts committed to him. He was of wide and varied learning, and without a superior in the knowledge of the country, the language, the literature, and the moral and religious systems of the Chinese. He was eminent for his services to his native land as Secretary of Legation of the United States in China, and for the aid which he rendered to commerce and to Christian missions by his executive labors, by his important contributions to periodical literature, and by his published works, especially *The Middle Kingdom*, *The Commercial Guide*, and *The Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language*.

The Society desires in like manner to express its sense of the bereavement that it has suffered in the death of Ezra Abbot, D.D., LL.D., Professor of the Criticism and Interpretation of the New Testament in the Harvard Divinity School at Cambridge. He was for nearly thirty years the faithful Recording Secretary of the Society. As a student of the textual and historical criticism of the New Testament, he won for himself an enviable reputation for exact and broad scholarship, and made contributions of enduring value to the department of learning to which he was devoted.

A few of the facts respecting the lives of these two men may be mentioned here:

Samuel Wells Williams was born at Utica, New York, September 22nd, 1812. His father, a highly esteemed citizen of Utica, was a book-seller, and engaged also in the business of printing and binding. The son entered the Rensselaer Institute at Troy in 1831. The next year he was invited to go to China as a missionary printer of the American Board. He immediately accepted, but on condition that he be allowed a year to learn more thoroughly the printer's art, whose rudiments he had acquired as a school-boy. He sailed from New York, June 15th, 1833, reaching Canton in October. Here he was met by Dr. E. C. Bridgman, who had gone out in 1830, and had begun the publication of the *Chinese Repository* in 1832. Dr. Williams took charge of the printing-press which had been sent out from New York, and for more than twenty years he assisted in the publication of the *Repository*. In 1835, he went to Macao, and, working with his hands as a typesetter, he completed in seventeen months Medhurst's Dictionary. In 1837, he sailed to Japan to take home some shipwrecked mariners. He was not allowed to land them, and so, on returning, he learned from them their language, and made (1839-41) a translation into Japanese of Genesis and of Matthew's Gospel. In 1844, he returned to America. In 1853, when the American Government

attempted to open Japan, he accompanied Commodore Perry as interpreter. The next year he resumed his missionary work in China, and in 1855 was made Secretary and Interpreter to the American Legation. In 1857, he accompanied Minister Reed to Shanghai and Tientsin, where England, France, Russia, and the United States made treaties for mutual intercourse with China. To Dr. Williams is due the insertion of Article xxix., which provides for the toleration of the Christian religion. In 1859, he went to Peking, to aid in the ratification of the treaty of Tientsin. During 1860 and 1861, he was absent on leave at home for about a year. In 1862, Dr. Williams removed his family to Peking, and there he resided until October 25th, 1876, the forty-third anniversary of his arrival in China, when he bade farewell to the Flowery Land, the scene of his laborious and successful life. He established himself at New Haven, and was elected Professor of the Chinese language and literature in Yale College, in 1877. In 1881, he was made President of the American Bible Society and of the American Oriental Society. His last public duty was to preside at the meeting of the Oriental Society in October, 1883. His death occurred at New Haven, on the 16th of March, 1884.

To the twenty volumes of the *Chinese Repository* Dr. Williams contributed about 140 articles. These included twenty articles upon subjects connected with the Chinese government and people, sixteen relating to the natural history, and ten to the arts, sciences, and manufactures of China. The *Journal and Proceedings* of the American Oriental Society, the *Journal* of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the volumes of the *United States Diplomatic Correspondence relating to China* contain many learned and important papers from his hand. His *Easy Lessons* (in the Canton Dialect), appearing in 1842, his *English and Chinese Vocabulary of the Court Dialect* (1844), his *Tonic Dictionary of the Canton Dialect* (1856 and 1876), and his three volumes of the *Anglo-Chinese Calendar*, were of inestimable value to students of the spoken dialects at a time when helps were few. His *Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (1874) contains 12,527 characters, with the pronunciation as heard at Peking, Shanghai, Amoy, and Canton. In 1844 appeared *The Chinese Commercial Guide*, and this most useful work reached a fifth edition in 1863. The work by which Dr. Williams is best known to the general public is *The Middle Kingdom*, which first appeared in 1848; and it was with feelings of devout thankfulness that he alluded to the completion of the beautiful new edition of this work toward the close of his serene and happy life at New Haven.

Dr. Abbot was born in 1819 at Jackson, Maine, and, after studying at Phillips Exeter Academy, entered Bowdoin College, and graduated in 1840. After teaching several years in Maine, he went to Cambridge in 1847, taught there in the High School in 1852, was appointed Assistant Librarian of Harvard College in 1856, and Bussey Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in the Harvard Divinity School in 1872, which last position he held till his death. His first publication was a catalogue of the Cambridge High School Library. In 1869 appeared his *Literature of the Doctrine of a Future Life*. The American edition of Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* is greatly enriched by valuable bibliographical contributions from Dr. Abbot. As an example of the minuteness and breadth of his exegetical study may be cited his article on Romans ix. 5, in the *Journal* of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis. On textual criticism, the subject to which he devoted most of his time, he has unfortunately published comparatively little in his own name. To Dr. F. H. A. Scrivener he sent a long and important list of corrections to his *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*. As member of the American Committee of Revision of the New Testament, he had opportunity to make a worthy use of his text-critical learning; but, beyond such results as may exist in the revised translation and a few newspaper articles, he has left no record of his researches. The first volume of the Prolegomena to Tischendorf's eighth edition of the Greek New Testament contains textual and grammatical contributions by Dr. Abbot, prepared with minute accuracy and careful discrimination. His only historical-critical work is *The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel* (1880), an examination of the external evidence in the case, a work remarkable for scholarly precision and close reasoning. An account of his printed works gives no idea of his unceasing activity, and only his pupils and friends know the inspiration given by the high character of his scholarship, and the purity, faithfulness, and self-sacrificing devotion of his daily life.

The *Missionary Herald* for April, 1884, contains a notice of the life of Dr. Williams by Pres. Porter, and the *Bible Society Record* for March 20th has another, by Mr. E. W. Gilman. Professor Thayer's commemorative notice of Dr. Abbot appeared in the *Independent* for March 27th and Apr. 3rd, 1884 (reprinted in the *Christian Register* for Apr. 3rd), and another notice, from which the above is excerpted, appeared in the *Nation* of March 27th.

The Corresponding Secretary further gave some account of the life and labors of the distinguished scientist, Prof. Guyot, during many years an interested, though for the most part not an active, member of the Society; and of Mr. Fellowes, an eminent citizen of New Haven, whose liberal hand and efficient helpfulness in every good work make his loss keenly felt there. He also stated what particulars were known to him of the enlightened and scholarly Turkish gentleman, who, elected at the instance of our late member, Hon. J. P. Brown, had since 1850 graced our List of Members with his name. Safvet Pasha was at one time Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire. His death occurred on the 17th of Nov. 1883.

The correspondence of the half-year was presented, and some parts of it were read.

The following communications were presented at the meeting:

1. On a Cippus from Tarsus, bearing a Greek Inscription with the name of Paul, by Prof. Isaac H. Hall, of Philadelphia.

In the late spring of 1877, the U. S. ship "Alliance" brought down from Mersine, the port of Tarsus, a round marble cippus from the site of the latter city; which was given by the American consul (or vice-consul) there to the Hon. John T. Edgar, then U. S. Consul at Beirut. Mr. Edgar gave it to the museum of the Union Theological Seminary in New York city, through the Rev. Dr. Philip Schaff, who was then returning from his tour in the East. The stone is now in the Seminary Museum in New York, labeled: "Inscription from Tarsus, with the name of Paul." This label is true enough, but the inscription has no reference to the great apostle who was once Saul of Tarsus.

The inscription is in uncial letters, rather late, plainly and deeply cut, and reads as follows:

ΤΟΠΟΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ
ΜΑΓΙΡΟΥΤΟΥΕΠΙΣ-
ΚΟΠΙΟΥΚΑΙΒΟ
ΑCΙΑΟΥΤΟCΤΗC
ΑΤΟΥΓΑΜΕΤΗC

Or, Τόπος Παύλου
Μαγίρου τοῦ Ἐπίσ-
κοπίου καὶ Βο-
ασιαούτος τῆς
α[υ]τοῦ γαμετῆς.

Or, in English, "Tomb of Paulus Magirus the [son] of Episcopus, and of Boasious his wife."

The chief interest in this inscription lies in the feminine proper name, which shows that in certain Cilician inscriptions in C. I. G., where the editor has ventured corrections, the stone is probably right and the editor wrong.

Examples of the genitive feminine ending in -ουτος (nominative probably—sometimes certainly—-ους) are to be seen in C. I. G. 4822 (μητρος Φιλουτος), 4826 (μητρος Σαραηνουτος, where the editor has corrected the η to π), 4927 (Πετροεουτος μητρος, where the editor has corrected the second ε to σ), 4403 and 4404 (where the editor has ventured similar corrections).

If this Tarsus inscription were treated in the same way, we should probably change the Βοασιαουτος to Βοασισουτος or -πουτος; but the better opinion would be that the stone-cutter was right in all the instances.

2. On a Shapira Roll in Philadelphia, by Prof. I. H. Hall.

In the Ridgway Branch of the Philadelphia Library is deposited a leather roll, composed of pieces of Synagogue-rolls of different hands and ages, each full-sized

piece containing regularly five columns, and each column regularly fifty-one lines. The pieces are stitched together with linen or cotton thread. The leather is sheepskin, most of it stained red. It much resembles the Karaite rolls. The columns number forty-seven, and the contents of the roll are the entire book of Numbers—no more, no less. Spaces mark the common Hebrew sections; but there are no verse divisions. The age of none of the pieces seems to be very great; but in this respect I have not examined it closely.

The roll was bought from Shapira in Jerusalem, a number of years ago, by a well-known citizen of Philadelphia, on the strength of Shapira's statements, and of a letter of the late Professor Tischendorf, which accompanies the MS. The letter reads as follows:

“Die mir von Herrn Alt aus Frankfurt a. M. vorgelegten althebräischen Handschriften auf Leder, Eigenthum des Herrn M. W. Shapira zu Jerusalem, haben eine offenbare Aehnlichkeit mit denjenigen Pentateuchrollen die vor 10 Jahren durch den Karaiten Firgowitsch nach Petersburg gebracht und von der königlichen Regierung als Bestandtheile einer grössern mehrere Hunderte von MSS. umfassenden Sammlung angekauft worden sind. Ich zweifle nicht dass das Alter dieser Rollen über mehr als tausend Jahre zurückreicht. Sie würden daher ohne Zweifel jeder grössern Bibliothek zu besonderer Zierde gereichen.

Geh. Rath Dr. von Tischendorf.”

Leipzig, Sept., 1870.

For various reasons I suspected that the letter was a forgery, and I had phototypes prepared, which I sent to sundry people in Germany who I thought would be able to determine the question of its genuineness. These phototypes stirred up a number of queries there, of which the most burning one was whether the MS. was the late batch of fragments which Shapira tried in vain to sell in Germany and England. (But the MS. has been in Philadelphia for twelve years.) Von Gebhardt, of Göttingen, was the first to suggest that the letter was probably sold with another roll than the ones for which it was written, and he thought the letter genuine. Dr. C. R. Gregory thought it genuine, and showed it to Tischendorf's widow, who pronounced it genuine. At length von Gebhardt sent it to Professor Franz Delitzsch, who pronounced the letter genuine, and knew all about the rolls for which it was written. These were two rolls left with Joh. Alt, of Frankfurt a. M., by Shapira for sale, and were described by Delitzsch in the (Augsburg) *Allgemeine Zeitung* for 16 February, 1870; one being a roll from San'a in South Arabia, much resembling this, but written with *four* columns regularly to a section of the leather, and containing between two copies of a repeated portion of Leviticus, a note to the effect that Abu Ali Said had caused the MS. to be written and presented for the improvement of his soul's health, in A.D. 1058. The other roll was from Hebron, and on parchment.

We need not dwell on the fact that, though Tischendorf was a prince among Greek palæographers, he had no reputation as a judge of Hebrew MSS.; and it is plain that he neglected or overlooked the date, which would have showed that his opinion put the age of the MSS. two centuries too far back.

But it is plain that the letter was not written with any reference to this Philadelphia MS., and that its connection therewith is a fraud. The roll is a curiosity worth keeping; but no such treasure as the two rolls for which the letter was written.

3. On the Stanza, Rigveda x. 18. 14, as illustrating the Varieties of cumulative Evidence that may be used in the Criticism of the Veda, by Prof. C. R. Lanman, of Cambridge.

The eighteenth hymn of the tenth book of the Rigveda is one of a collection of five funeral hymns, and is the best and most important of them. Except the last or fourteenth stanza, the hymn is clear and intelligible throughout. It has been translated and explained by Prof. Whitney in his *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, i. 50. There is no question of importance respecting the integrity of the text of the first thirteen stanzas. They contain an appeal to death to depart far away; then follow stanzas to be said in connection with ceremonies typifying the separation of the living from the dead; then other stanzas which accompanied the commitment of the body to the ground; and finally, in the thirteenth stanza, a prayer

that the kindly spirits that hover about may not let the earth press hard on the departed, and that Yama may provide for him a dwelling in the other world. Then come the words:

praticī'ne mā'm āhanī'svāh parṇām ivā' dadhuh |
prati'cīm jagrabhā vā'cam āvañ raṇādyā yathā ||

The stanza is translated by Geldner and Kaegi thus: 'On a future day they will take me, as a plume from the arrow. I hold thy voice back, as a steed with a rein.' The words are put in the mouth of a sorcerer who is conjuring a sick man nigh to death. The sense would then be: To be sure, the day is coming when I must die, when they will take me as they do the plume from the worn-out and useless shaft, in order to throw away the shaft like as they will my corpse. But although my day will come, I nevertheless hold your voice or breath of life back in your body by my magic power. [With this interpretation the comparison halts badly. Rather, they will take me as they do the torn and useless plume from the still useful shaft, in order to throw away the plume, for *parṇām*, not *iśvāh*, is compared with *mām*.]

The above rendering is open to several objections. The first half of the stanza is not an apposite antithesis to the last. The rendering of the perfect, *ā dadhuh*, as future is inadmissible. The words *praticina* and *praticī* ought to have essentially the same meaning. The word *vāc* is hardly equivalent to *ātman* or *manas* (RV. x. 60. 8), and if it did mean 'thy voice, i. e. breath of life,' there ought to be a *tava* or *te*. The interpretations of Grassmann and Ludwig are not convincing.

On these accounts, the rendering of Whitney, although tentative, is perhaps to be preferred:

They 've set me in a fitting day
As one the plume sets on the shaft,
I've caught and used the fitting word
As one a steed tames with the rein.

This then would have to be taken as an expression, on the part of the author of the hymn, of self-complacency, of a consciousness that he had made a good hymn at the right time and place, and with as good skill as a skillful horseman, for no skill was more prized than his.

The Rīgveda consists of a large amount of material which was for a long time handed down by memory and word of mouth. During this period of memorial tradition, it was natural that parts of hymns should be forgotten, and that even all but a single stanza or two of what was once a complete hymn should be forgotten. In this way it came to pass that, along with the hundreds of complete hymns, there were in the mass of remembered material also scores of isolated stanzas. Now when this material was reduced to written form, the complete hymns were arranged in the main according to certain simple principles (which concerned their authorship, the divinity invoked, and the length: see Delbrück, *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*, 1875, no. 49), but there was palpable difficulty with regard to these isolated fragments. Where should these be put? Often such a fragment contained some word or name or allusion which linked it to a certain stanza of some complete hymn, and was accordingly inserted after that stanza in the hymn. In this way have occurred many interpolations whose cause is easy to discern. But oftener still, these isolated stanzas were like dogs without a master, claimed for no author, and having no belongings. In these cases they received a place in the written collection at the end of complete hymns. It has often been remarked, by Roth and others, that the favorite place for isolated, spurious, and modern stanzas is at the end of hymns or books. This point is well illustrated by the first of the *khāṇḍikāni sūktāni*, the supplementary hymns or later additions, as given by Aufrecht, vol. ii. 672: it follows hymn 50 of the first book, the last of Praskāva's hymns. This hymn consists of nine stanzas in three strophes of undoubted integrity. At the end of these strophes, or the hymn proper, come four stanzas, relegated by their metre and sense to the limbo of doubtful canonicity, but still passing in the MSS. as genuine. And then finally, in the supplement, comes the *khāṇḍikam*, or 'later addition,' whose posteriority and spuriousness was admitted even by the Hindus. Other things being equal, therefore, a stanza which occurs at the end of a hymn and does not stand in any easy connection with the rest of it, may be more safely regarded as an isolated, spurious, or modern stanza than if it occurred in some other position.

Even with Prof. Whitney's rendering, the stanza in question is, *eo ipso*, a later addition. But it is interesting, and perhaps useful, to point out a rather remarkable number of concurrent items of evidence for the lateness of the stanzas.

1. It is at the end and out of connection with the rest of the hymn.
2. Its metre is of a different kind from that of the body of the hymn.
3. The metre is not a good Vedic specimen of its own kind; it has, e. g., a trochee in the cadence of the third *pāda*.
4. The genitive-ablative form *iśvās* is not good Vedic. This allows only *iśos*. Examples of singular forms in *āi*, *ās*, or *ām*, in connection with *u*-stems, number only three for the whole Rigveda, viz., *iśvāi*, vi. 75. 15, and *suvasťvās*, viii. 19. 37, both stanzas of late date, and *iśvās* here.
5. For the Rigveda the rule holds that oxytone stems in *ác* throw the accent forward to the case-ending in the weak cases and to the feminine *ī* when the vowel of *ác* is absorbed in the *i* or *u* of the preposition. A genuine old Rik-verse would have *pratićim*, but our text has *pratićim*. Compare RV. iii. 30. 6, *jahí pratićo anáčas*, with its AV. variant, iii. 1. 4, *jahí pratićo anáčas*.
6. All the stanzas (1-13) are prescribed by Aćwaláyana in the Grihyasútra, iv. 2.18-6.12, to be used at the burial service excepting this one. The application of this criterion to Vedic texts offers an inviting and fruitful field of study. See Hillebrandt, *Spuren einer älteren Rigvedarecension*, Bezzenberger's Beiträge, viii. 195 ff.
7. This stanza is passed over by the commentator Sáyana in silence and without a word of explanation, as if it were something uncanny. This is a thing that he seldom does. Similarly the *pada-kāra* passes by certain stanzas, e. g. vii. 59. 12, x. 121. 10, and all of x. 190, without giving the divisions into words.

4. On the dialectic Equivalence of *sh* and *n* in Proto-Babylonian, by Carl F. Lehmann, of Hamburg.

There are two cases in which the equivalence of *sh* and *n* in Proto-Babylonian seems to be certain:

1. Sumerian *sher* = Akkadian *ner* (Assyrian *sharru*), 'leader, king.' Cf. also Sum. *sher-mal* with Akk. *ner-gal* 'king, ruler,' lit. 'being leader.'
2. Sum. *a-she-ra* = Akk. *a-nera*, 'to lament'; this is probably a compound of *a*, 'water,' and *she-ir*, 'to lament, sigh.'

The form *mun-gi-esh-a-an* was supposed to furnish a third case of this equivalence (Sum. *gesh* = Akk. *gen*), but has been differently explained by Hommel, *Die Semitischen Völker und Sprachen* (S. V. u. S.), p. 511.

The equivalence in question was first pointed out by Professor Haupt; compare especially *Der keilinschriftliche Sintfluthbericht*, p. 25, note 16, where also the passages are quoted. It has thus far found no explanation, and Hommel, in accord with Schrader, recently expressed serious doubts as to whether these words were not after all merely chance homonyms. Compare S. V. u. S., p. 289 and p. 471, note 158, with the additions to this note, p. 510.*

As a contribution to the explanation of these facts as a real equivalence, Dr. Lehmann offered the following suggestions.

Traces of rhotacism appear in Sumero-Akkadian, e. g. in *shesh* = *sher*, 'to sigh,' in *e-esh* = *e-ir* (Ass. *bakû*), 'to weep,' and in *tush* = *dur* (Ass. *ashûbu*), 'to sit'; see Haupt, *Keilschrifttexte*, i. p. 36, no's 865-6, p. 34, no. 803, and iv. p. 183, line 7 of vocabulary.

Now if *r* is assumed as the intermediate stage between *sh* and *n*, the only remaining difficulty is to explain the transition from *r* to *n*.

In the first place, there is no physiological difficulty in the formation of a nasal *r*; this has been shown by Sievers in his *Phonetik*, p. 90.

Secondly, in the Semitic languages, especially in Aramaic, the assumption of a peculiarly near relation between the liquids *ṛ*, *r*, and *ṣ*, *n*, seems necessary, and this relation may very well point to a nasal coloring of the *ṛ*, *r*. Thus the *ṛ*, *r*, of

* Hommel repeats these doubts, adds some new examples, and suggests an explanation of the phenomenon in general, in the *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, i. 170-1, and note 2. This passage is in the part for April, 1884, which was not received here until May 12, i. e. after this paper had been read.

the Aramaic form of the numeral 'two,' תרין, *terén*, answers to a נ, *n*, in the other Semitic tongues; compare, e. g., Hebrew שנים, *shānaim*. So also the Aramaic word for 'son' is בר, *br*, in the singular, but shows in its plural forms בנין, בני, *bnîn*, *bné*, the נ, *n*, which is common to all the Semitic languages; compare Hebrew בן, *ben*. On the other hand, Aramaic נ, *n*, corresponds to ר, *r*, of other Semitic languages, in דנה, *dnh*, = Hebrew זרה, *zrh*, 'to rise,' of the sun, compare Arabic *ḍrh*. For a further discussion of this question, see Philippi, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesell.*, xxxii. 32-9, especially 34 and 38, and the authorities there cited, and also de Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 51, line 27.

Thirdly, in Indo-European, we find, for example, in Prakrit, the form *damšana* corresponding to the Sanskrit *darśana* (pointed out by Bloomfield), and in Lithuanian *Mangarytā* for *Margarytā* (Brugmann). It may also be mentioned that in the syllable of reduplication of the Sanskrit intensives the final consonant is almost invariably either *r* or *n*; see Whitney, *Grammar*. § 1002 b, and cf. c. Compare also the relation of the stems *āhas*, *āhar*, *āhan*, *ū'dhas*, *ū'dhar*, *ū'dhan*, *Journal Am. Orient. Soc'y*, x. 523.

Fourthly, examples of the correspondence of *r* and *n* may be found even in Proto-Babylonian. Thus 'plantation' or 'garden' is expressed by *gan* as well as *kar*, and both forms appear in Assyrian as *ginū* and *kirū* respectively. Again, the name of the Old Testament city *Erech* was pronounced by the Assyrians as *Uruk*. In Akkadian the name is usually written ideographically, and on this account we cannot trace variations in the Proto-Babylonian pronunciation of the word. In one instance, to be sure, the name appears in phonetic writing as *u-nu-ug*, i. e. *Unug*, and Friedrich Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 221, no. 32, explains the Assyrian form as a "hardening" from *Unug*: but it seems more probable that in parts of ancient Babylonia the pronunciation was really *Uruk*, and that from this the Assyrian form is derived. See Haupt, *Keilschrifttexte*, i. p. 19, no's 330-1, and compare especially 334.

In view of these considerations, the assumption that a nasal *r* is the intermediate stage between *sh* and *n* seems probable.

The two words discussed here, *sher* and *a-shēra* (properly *a-sheer*), show the correspondence of *sh* and *n* in a syllable which ends in *r*: and on this account it may be that the intermediate form with *r* does not appear.

The difficult question of the relative age of the two dialects, Sumerian and Akkadian, need not here be discussed. But if, with Hommel and Delitzsch, we consider the *eme-shal* dialect (here called Sumerian) to be the younger, and the form with *n* accordingly to be the original one, the main part of our theory is not thereby invalidated. *N* would then have become a *r* with combined nasal element (cf. the Aramaic example cited above); but for the change from *r* to *sh* it would perhaps be difficult to find analogies.

5. On the Dātavya Bhārata Kāryālaya in Calcutta, by Prof. Lanman.

The meeting of the American Oriental Society is a fit occasion to notice the remarkable undertaking of a successful business man of Bengal, Protap Chundra Roy. From his youth he had cherished the idea of checking the progress of irreligion, as he says, by diffusing among his countrymen a knowledge of the classics of India. Accordingly, after retiring from business and recovering in a measure from a severe domestic affliction, he organized the Dātavya Bhārata Kāryālaya, an institution bearing some general likeness to the American Tract Society. The Kāryālaya relies on the public-spirited and wealthy men of India for its pecuniary support, and devotes itself to the printing and gratuitous distribution of the great works of Sanskrit literature. Roy began with the free distribution of one thousand copies of the Mahā-bhārata in Bengali translation. This was followed by two other editions of about three thousand copies each of the same translation. A fourth edition of the Mahā-bhārata, containing the original Sanskrit text and Bengali translation is now in progress, and a similar diglot edition of the Rāmāyana is nearly completed. All of these works are extensive, and the number of printed forms already gratuitously distributed or in course of distribution mounts up to the astonishing figure of 13,783,500.

At present Mr. Roy is engaged upon the publication and free distribution of an English translation of the Mahā-bhārata. The edition will consist of twelve hundred and fifty copies, and of these two hundred and fifty copies are designed for the scholars of Europe and America. Sanskrit students, therefore, who wish to obtain the work, may send their addresses to Mr. Roy, at No. 367 Upper Chit-pore Road, Calcutta, British India.

The translation is doubtless the work of some Hindu scholar, but his name is not mentioned. It is in the main smooth and correct; but there is great lack of accuracy in the rendering of the proper names; and the Sanskrit technical terms of sacrifices, for example, are often spelled out in Roman letters without the least consistency. It is greatly to be hoped that in the forthcoming parts these serious blemishes will be remedied. In like manner, we cannot too earnestly express the wish that Mr. Roy will cause the numbering of the book, chapter, and verse to be given on the outside ends of the head-lines in place of the page-numbers of his translation. These last are of small importance and can be put at the inside. The number of every tenth śloka should also be given in square brackets and clear figures at the end of every tenth śloka in translation. This will add greatly to the usefulness of the work for scholars, although perhaps not for cursory readers. Of immense advantage, further, would be the addition of a synopsis or table of contents of the whole poem when the end has been reached. I venture to say that this would contribute more to help on and facilitate the study of the Mahā-bhārata among foreign students than any other one thing that Mr. Roy could do. It is true, the second chapter of the first book (Calcutta ed. i. 360-660 = Bombay ed. vol. i. folios 19-28) contains a very brief synopsis of the contents; this is useful as far as it goes, and its usefulness is recognized by the Hindus in the following words:

*akhyānam tad idam anuttamam mahārthan
vijñeyam mahad ūha parvasaṁgrahena |
śrutvāddu bhavati nṛṇāṁ sukhāragāham
vistṛṇāṁ lavanajalāṁ yathā plavena || i. 659.*

'As the vast ocean becomes easy to get over for men with a boat, so this great history, incomparable and of great import, is to be understood in this world by means of the table of contents, if one will first listen to that.'

But neither this bald enumeration of subjects in the *parvasaṁgraha*, nor the short analysis of Williams in his *Indian Epic Poetry* (now out of print), is in any way sufficient or convenient. What we need is a full analysis of the main thread of the Bhārata, of that which may provisionally be supposed to be the more or less original nucleus of the work. The episodes, as, for instance, the Bhagavad-gītā, or the Nala, might be given only in the briefest analysis. Double references, to the Calcutta and the Bombay editions, might be given throughout, and every typographical device should be brought into service to make the work easy for use.

Such a change of plan, however, may seem impracticable to the publisher; moreover, the mechanical production of neatly and conveniently printed books is doubtless attended with far greater difficulty in India than in Europe. Accordingly, we cannot refrain from making publicly the suggestion to Dr. Adolf Holtzmann, of Freiburg, that he should undertake the publication of this analytical summary. There can be no doubt that such a work would be exceedingly welcome to those who desire to make small excursions into these fields, and it would no less certainly exercise a powerful influence in stimulating Sanskrit scholars to grapple with questions of higher criticism concerning the Mahā-bhārata. The dramas, the law-books, and the Vedic literature, all have had their turn in engrossing the attention of scholars. Is it not time that the Epos should be made the subject of critical investigation?

To Mr. Roy and his undertaking we wish all success. And, in view of what he has already accomplished, we believe that he will carry it out to the end. If he does not conclude to modify slightly the plan, so as to make his book more useful to scholars, we shall at least console ourselves with the thought that all legitimate efforts towards widening the circle of those interested in Indian literature (like the series of Eastern Classics for Western Readers to be edited by Professor Peterson, of Bombay, and like these publications of Roy), cannot fail to have an indirect influence on the progress of Indian studies; for from the increas-

ing numbers who pursue them there will arise a number absolutely if not proportionally increased of those whose interest will bear fruit in important contributions to our knowledge of Indian antiquities.

6. On the Unaugmented Verb-Forms in the Rig- and Atharva-Vedas, by Prof. John Avery, of Brunswick, Me.

The most ancient form of Sanskrit speech, like the earliest dialect of Greek, often omitted the augment in the preterit tenses of the verb. Superficial observation shows that this usage is most common in the Rig-Veda; is less so in the Atharva-Veda; is rare in the Brāhmaṇas; and has disappeared from the later language, except in aorist occurrences after the negative *mā*, and in other sporadic instances. It appears, moreover, that these abbreviated forms in part yield precisely the same sense as the longer ones; and in part have, in some way, acquired a subjunctive or imperative meaning.

Since it is essential to a correct interpretation of the Vedic texts that we should know how to understand these forms, the present investigation has been begun with this view: to bring together all occurrences of unaugmented verb-forms in the two texts above mentioned; to note their relative frequency in the different tenses of the verb-system; to inquire whether they accord in sense with the distinctions commonly received as characteristic of the tenses in the Veda; and, finally, to determine how large a proportion have retained a preterit sense, and how many are employed like true subjunctives or imperatives. To this end the text of the Rig-Veda has been searched through, and the result corrected by Grassmann's Dictionary; and for the Atharvan the occurrences have been excerpted from Prof. Whitney's *Index Verborum*.

It needs to be premised that in a work like this a precise result cannot be attained in every instance. For, in the first place, the ancient system of verb-inflection did not always make a formal distinction between unaugmented preterits and true subjunctives or imperatives: e. g. *riṇā's* may contain the modal *a* or be simply shortened from *árinās*, and so *dāt* is to be compared with the subjunctive *dātī* and the preterit *ádāt*; the unaugmented *a*-aorist is not always clearly distinguishable from the subjunctive of the root-aorist, especially when the accent is wanting; and even when that is supplied it may mislead—as *śinat* beside *sanēma*; the so-called pluperfect, having lost its augment, does not differ, in most instances, from a perfect subjunctive with secondary endings; so, too, the imperative in certain persons is like unaugmented preterits of the same persons, and here even the accent sometimes fails to make the needed distinction. In the second place, a doubt may arise whether a given form belongs to the "root" or "accented *a*" class of the present-system, or to one or other of the two stems of the simple aorist. We are accustomed to class short forms like *ákar* with the aorist, and forms like *ákr̥no* with the imperfect; yet it is theoretically not improbable that in the earliest literature, whatever may be the usage later, this distinction had not become everywhere recognized, and that while, for example, *ákr̥not* was coming to represent the imperfect tense—or indefinite past—the earlier *ákar* had not wholly retired from that office and assumed the role of an aorist. This may explain the fact, often occurring among unaugmented forms, that an imperfect sense may at times best render a so-called aorist form. But, after eliminating all the doubtful cases referred to above, the great majority of unaugmented forms are found to have a recognizable character, and may be classified as follows.

The occurrences of augmented verbs in the Rig-Veda amount to 3300—of which 2065 belong to the present-system, and 1194 to the aorist—while the augment is wanting in about 1945 instances, or in a ratio to the complete forms of nearly 1 to 1.69. Of the 1945 unaugmented forms, about 45.2 per cent. belong to the present-system; 1.2 per cent., rather more doubtfully, to the perfect-system; and 53.6 per cent. to the aorist. Of the last, a little more than 74 per cent. are claimed by the simple aorist.

Augmented forms are more frequent in the present-system than in the aorist, in the ratio of about 1.73 to 1, while unaugmented forms are more numerous in the aorist, in the ratio of 1.21 to 1.

A complete separation of the unaugmented forms into those which have an indicative, and those which have a subjunctive or imperative sense, cannot be made—

with entire certainty; and in the following summary a small margin must be left for doubtful cases. Of the 1945 instances, 47.7 per cent. are reckoned as indicative, and 52.3 as subjunctive in meaning. In the present-system the indicative use appears to exceed the subjunctive in the ratio 1.3 to 1, while in the aorist the latter exceeds the former in the ratio of 3 to 2. Of the 626 occurrences of the improper subjunctive in the aorist, the simple aorist claims 454 (about equally divided between its two stems), the reduplicated aorist 71, and the sibilant aorist 101 (rather more than half being counted with the *is*-stem).

Turning, now, to the Atharva-Veda, we find a very different usage. The occurrences of unaugmented forms in this text amount to 383, of which 61 are reproduced from the Rik—and so, as stereotyped expressions handed down from a former age, do not fairly represent the usage when the later hymns were composed. The occurrences belonging to the present-system are 94, against 289 counted with the aorist. Of the former, nearly one-fourth are taken from the Rik. Dividing the passages into those having an indicative, and those having a subjunctive sense, we observe a marked difference between the two texts. Only 27 instances are reckoned with the indicative, but 356 with the subjunctive or imperative. While in the Rik the improper subjunctive occurs in about 52 per cent. of all occurrences, in the Atharvan it appears in not less than 93 per cent. of them. About three-fourths of the forms yielding a subjunctive sense are in the aorist, of which the simple aorist claims the lion's share—showing 185 occurrences, against 17 for the reduplicating stem, and 77 for all the sibilant stems. It is further to be observed that in a majority of occurrences (244 out of 356, of which 213 are in the aorist) of the improper subjunctive in this Veda it is in connection with the negative *mā'*.

The foregoing introductory remarks and compendious statements are made pending a more searching investigation of the subject, when it will be set forth in greater detail and with ample illustration.

7. The Study of Sanskrit and the Study of the Hindu Grammarians, by Prof. W. D. Whitney, of New Haven.

Professor Whitney began with a brief characterization of the Hindu native science of Sanskrit grammar, and a notice of the essential aid it had rendered to European students of the language. Its general character, as in other such cases, was determined by the character of the language with which it dealt. The Sanskrit is above all things an analyzable tongue, of transparent structure, falling easily apart into roots and suffixes and endings. In its perfected form, then, as represented to all after time by Pāṇini, the native grammar is an established body of roots, with rules for their extension to stems and the inflection of the latter, and for the accompanying phonetic modifications, this last involving a phonetic science of very high character; the syntax is much inferior, though perhaps only in proportion as the Sanskrit sentence is inferior to the classical. But its form of presentation is strange, consulting brevity at the expense of every other quality; and hence it is very difficult of acquisition; one must be master of the whole system, in all its details, before he can be certain with regard to any one point that there does not lurk in some remote chapter a rule bearing upon it: it is something like having to construct passages in a text out of an *index verborum* to that text—and one, too, not alphabetically arranged. Theoretically, all that is prescribed or allowed by Pāṇini's rules, taken together with the list of roots accepted by him, and other like supplements, is Sanskrit; and nothing else is entitled to that name. The young pandit learns the system, and governs his Sanskrit speech and composition by it. The first European students did the same, to their great advantage; and one must, of course, still follow a like method, if he is to communicate with pandits, and to gain their respect and aid. But the question is whether Western scholars in general are bound to this course: in short, whether we are to study Pāṇini for the sake of learning Sanskrit.

It is to be noticed, in the first place, that the native grammar can never have been the means, but only the regulator, of the tradition of the learned language. No one ever mastered a list of roots and a grammar, and then went to work to construct texts upon that basis. The learner, rather, has his models which he imitates; he makes his speech after that of his teacher, only under the constant

check of having to quote the grammar in regard to any questioned point. All this is like the ordinary transmission of a cultivated language, merely with a difference of degree. That such was actually the case with Sanskrit, is made plain enough by the facts. There is no absolute coincidence between Pāṇini and the classical language. The latter, indeed, includes little that Pāṇini forbids; but it also lacks a great deal that he allows. The difference is so great that Benfey, who was deeply versed in the Hindu science, calls it a grammar without a corresponding language, as he calls the pre-classical dialects a language without a grammar. What is then this grammarians' dialect, standing between the classical and the pre-classical, and unlike them both? and what claim has it to our study?

We have, in the second place, an immense literature in that older pre-classical language, which was produced in entire independence of the grammarians, and is only very imperfectly treated by them. It is in two or three dialects, of different degrees of antiquity, standing in a perfectly natural order of succession to one another. And the classical language stands in a natural succession to them. This historical affiliation casts the most important light on the classical language, which only by its help is properly understood.

The main thing which makes of the grammarians' Sanskrit a special and peculiar tongue is its list of roots. There are about two thousand such; but a full half of them have never been met with in use, earlier or later. Some small number of these, doubtless, do not happen to occur, and may in part yet turn up; others are assumed for the sake of explaining derivatives; others are the offspring of confusion and original false readings; but a very large number are as yet unexplained and problematical remainder, and even in no small measure obviously artificial and false (see Dr. Edgren's discussion of them, in Vol. xi. of the Society's Journal). It is well known what mischief this list of roots wrought, in the hands of the earlier incautious and credulous students of Sanskrit, and how many false and worthless etymologies were founded upon them. That work is even yet, perhaps, not entirely over; still, it has come to be generally understood that no alleged Sanskrit root can be accepted as real unless it is supported by a kind of use in the language that authenticates it (for, in late writings, verb-forms are now and then made artificially, on a root taken by a grammarian's license out of the list of roots): that is to say, that a Hindu grammarian's statement as to the fundamental elements of his speech is without authority until tested by the actual facts of linguistic use, as represented by the Sanskrit literature.

But the principle thus won is of universal application; for we have no reason to expect more trustworthiness in other departments of the grammar; there is nothing in Pāṇini and his successors which does not require to be tested by the language, in order to the finding out of its real value. That this is so, a few examples will show. To the periphrastic future tense, made by compounding a *nomem agentis* with the present tense of an auxiliary, the root *as*, the grammarians give a corresponding middle, although the auxiliary has no middle inflection. Now what are the facts? In the Brāhmaṇas there are four sporadic instances of an attempt to make middle persons of this tense, after the analogy of the general relation of middle endings to active; and in the whole immense body of the epic and classical literature, I do not find notice of more than a single additional attempt! On this absurdly narrow basis the native grammar has built a universal formation. The case is somewhat similar with the so-called "precative;" it is hardly more than sporadic in the older language, and in the classical tongue (which here also is a true successor of the other) it is just about as rare; but the grammarians give a precative to every verb, and even to its secondary conjugations, where it has not a single known example, either earlier or later. The precative is an aorist optative; but this the Hindu authorities ignore, though they can hardly have failed to perceive it, and they give their rules for its formation as a separate and independent part of the verb-system—in which they are followed by their European imitators. Again, the causative secondary conjugation includes a reduplicated aorist, which is not made from the causative stem, but from the original root; it has been adopted into the causative system, by a process which in the Veda is not yet complete. As was to be expected, now, the grammarians prefer to force a derivation of this aorist from the causative stem: the root being *bhū*, for example, we are not to make *ābūbhuvat* from it, but from the derived stem *bhāvay*, by striking off first the *ay* and reducing the *bhāv* or *bhāu* to *bhū*—that is,

we are to get the formation from the stem, through the intermediate step of reducing the stem to the root! Here again, the European imitators, down to the very last, follow the Hindu example. Again, in a large body of verbs, a second alternative set of passive forms is allowed in the aorist and futures (e. g. from *dā*, the forms *adāyīṣi*, *dāyīṣye*, *dāyītāhe*, etc.); what the statement means is wholly problematical, since it is illustrated by no genuine quotable usage, either in the earlier language or in the later; it is perhaps some misapprehension or blunder; certainly, the matter is one with which beginners in the language never should be troubled. Once more, the ending *dhvam* of 2d pl. mid. has to become *dhvam* after an etymological lingual sibilant, lost in the present condition of the language; and, so far as is known, the change is never met with, at any period of the language, except where such a sibilant would properly stand; but the Hindu grammar gives respecting it rules which appear to be utterly nonsensical, involving conditions between which and the change no relation is to be discovered; and they extend it also to the perfect-ending *dhve*, with which it has nothing to do.

These are a few of the characteristic cases, showing what kind of guides the Hindu grammarians are. Many others, of various degree, might be adduced; but these are surely enough to enforce the conclusion, almost of itself evident, that not a single rule given or fact stated by the grammarians can be taken on their authority, without being tested by the language itself. Of course, much the greater part of what they teach is true and right; but no one until after examination can tell which part. Of course, also, there is more or less of genuine supplementary material in them; but what, is only to be determined by a thorough and cautious comparison of their whole system with the whole language. This has not been made, and is hardly making: chiefly for the reason that the skilled students of the native grammar are looking at their work from the wrong point of view. They seem to think it their duty to learn out of Pāṇini, and set forth for others, what the Sanskrit language really is, instead of explaining him out of the language, determining what in him is true and genuine, and accounting for and excusing the rest. In other words, they need to realize that, in studying the native grammatical science, they are simply investigating a certain branch of Indian learning, like the Hindu astronomy or philosophy, one that is of high interest and importance, and has also had a marked influence in shaping the latest form of Sanskrit—not always to its advantage. Some scholars appear to feel as if a fact that they find in the language is to be credited as such only when they discover it set down in Pāṇini. It may be asked, on the other hand, of what consequence it is, except for its bearing on the grammatical science itself, that any given fact is so set down. A fact in the pre-classical language is entirely independent of Pāṇini; he has nothing to do with it; one that belongs to the classical language may, even against his omission or prohibition, have its genuineness shown by other supporting facts; or it may be genuine with his assent; or it may have an ungentle and artificial existence on account of his seeming to authorize it. The statement in the native grammar that such a thing is so and so is of wholly uncertain value; if, on being tested, it proves correct, it scores one to the credit of the grammar—not of the language, which is what it was before.

To maintain this is not to disparage Hindu grammatical science; it is only to refuse to bow to it as authority; to set it above, or even on a level with, our own grammatical science, characterized by objective collection and classification of facts, lucid order and method, sense of proportion, and observance of historical relations. The time has not yet gone by when discussion of the subject is seasonable. We still occasionally read in general philological works of (e. g.) the "fifth" or the "seventh" conjugation-class of verbs, and so on, as if the general student could fairly be expected to remember the senseless and unexplainable order in which the bodies of similarly conjugated roots are catalogued in the Hindu *dhātu-pāṭhas* or lists of roots (they themselves never gave them names founded on this order; that is a European perversion, and now no better than pedantry); and the very last published Sanskrit grammar in German (by a scholar long resident in India) begins with the sentence "Sanskrit verbs have ten tenses and modes"—as if, because the Hindus failed to make the distinction of tense and mode, we ought to do the same; one might about as well say that "the Sanskrit has four parts of speech: name, predicate, preposition, and particle." If the Hindu grammar is remanded to its own place, not only will beginners be relieved from learning forms

that never occur and classifications which must be abandoned later, but the study of the grammar will be made more fruitful of results for the real history of the language itself.

8. On the Cesnola Cypriote Inscriptions in New York, by Prof. I. H. Hall.

This paper consisted of a review of the New York Cesnola inscriptions, with especial reference to their treatment by Dr. W. Deecke in the first part of H. Collitz's Collection of Greek Dialect Inscriptions, and also with reference to some hitherto unpublished. Some of the inscriptions have been published twice over, as if different inscriptions, and some are given wrong side up and so are read wrong throughout. The work is characterized by brilliancy, ingenuity, and learning, but contains much that needs emendation. Many of the errors of the edition were unavoidable, being based upon the labors of predecessors which the editor had no opportunity of verifying. On this account the necessity for a revision of the work at the hands of some scholar who has access to the originals is the more immediate and pressing.

9. On the Northern Barbarians in Ancient China, by Pres. W. A. P. Martin, of Peking; read by Prof. Lanman.

The Great Chinese Wall separates now, as it has for twenty centuries, two distinct stages of civilization. On the one side are the nomad tribes of Mongolia and Manchuria, and on the other, the tillers of rich fields and gardens. Between the two, perpetual hostility has existed. At first, a line of military posts was established for protection against the nomad invaders. As a supplement to these posts was built the Great Wall. In the main, it has proved an effectual barrier, and is described as "The ruin of one generation, and the salvation of thousands."

Twice, however, has the whole of China been subdued by extra-mural invaders: once by the Mongols under Genghis Khan (ca. 1200 A. D.), who passed the wall in the northwest province of Shansi; and again by the Manchus, who entered at the eastern extremity, and are now in possession of the throne.

For three and a half centuries, then, the Tartars (and by this we mean in a general way the nomads of the north and west) have held sway in China; but, besides, there have been three periods of partial conquest: 1. From 907 A. D. to 1234, by the Tartars of the North; 2. From 386 A. D. to 532, by the Tartars of Topa; and, 3. From 202 B. C. to 220 A. D., by the Hiongnu. Had the wall been held by forces unaffected by treason or discord, it would always have proved a sufficient defense; but, as it is, the Chinese of the northern provinces have passed seven out of the last ten centuries under the yoke of the Tartar conquerors.

The third period just mentioned is nearly coincident with the rule of the Han dynasties. At that time, the tribes inhabiting the vast region from Lake Balkash to the mouth of the Amur (an extent of over 3000 miles) formed a kind of confederation under the hegemony of the Hiongnu. That the chief or Shanyu of the Hiongnu was a mighty and dreaded enemy of the House of Han is evinced by the fact that the Chinese accorded to him the sacred title of Hwangti, a name which they have hesitated to concede to the Emperor of Austria-Hungary.

During the Han and immediately succeeding dynasties, the Hiongnu were kept in check by force of arms. The later emperors sent their sisters and daughters across the frontier, in order to effect by family alliance what they could not by prowess. These transactions have supplied rich materials for poetry and romance. Thus Chau-keun, a lovely woman who was given to the Khan of Tartary to induce him to retreat with his overwhelming forces, threw herself into the Amur rather than endure the life of exile.

Prominent in the wars of the Hans with the Hiongnu were Li-kwang, Li-ling, Sz'ma Tsien, and Su-wu. The first, after seventy victories over the Hiongnu, slew himself on the battle-field, because he failed to capture the Khan. His son, Li-ling, when pursuing the flying foe too eagerly, fell into an ambuscade, and lost his division of five thousand men, and passed the rest of his days among savage foes. His relatives were executed on account of his supposed treachery, and his noble friend, Sz'ma Tsien, who guaranteed his fidelity, was disgracefully mutilated. This Sz'ma Tsien was the great historian, who submitted to mutilation instead of

execution, not because he feared death, but solely in order to gain the time to complete the history, his own imperishable monument. Su-wu was a diplomatic envoy, who was kept in captivity by the Grand Khan for nineteen years. Besides the great history of Sz'ma Tsien, there are extant the letters of Li-ling, and the tender poems exchanged between Su-wu and his wife, all interesting memorials of the time (ca. 100 B. C.).

We turn now to the still more ancient times of the dynasty of the Chau, which reigned for over eight hundred years (B.C. 1122 to B.C. 240). We are at the dawn of letters, the dividing line between the legendary and the historical periods. The Great Wall is not yet built; but the hostile tribes are there. At this period, the Chinese were few in number and occupied a comparatively small territory; but their knowledge of letters and their incipient culture gave them already a great advantage over the savage foes who beset them around.

These tribes are grouped under several comprehensive terms: those on the east are called Yi; those on the north, Tih; those on the west, Jung or Chiang; and those on the south, Man. The original sense of these names seems to be as follows: the Yi were famous archers, and were so called from their "great bows." The northerners used dogs in hunting and herding, and depended on fire to temper the cold of their rigorous winters. "Dog" and "fire" are therefore combined in the ideograph by which the Tih are designated. The Jung were armed with spears, and this their weapon furnished the symbol for their ideograph. The ideograph Chiang is made up of the head of a goat and the legs of a man, and so denotes to the Chinese imagination hideous monsters, and at the same time means 'goat-men,' 'goat-herds,' or 'shepherds,' and identifies them essentially with the Tih or nomads of the north. The character for Man combines those for "worm" and "silk," and imports that the barbarians of the south, even at that early day, were not ignorant of silk-culture.

All the tribes of the Man and the Yi (save certain aborigines called Miao-tsz') were conquered by the vigorous race whose progeny peoples modern China Proper. The tribes of the north and west, the Tih and the Chiang, were never permanently subdued. Their lands never invited conquest. On the contrary, as we have seen, it was the wealth and fertility of the North China plains and valleys that tempted constantly throughout the eight hundred years of the Chau dynasty the fierce and hungry tribes of the northwest to make their overwhelming incursions.

The oldest extant Chinese poetry, older than any history, shows us the Chinese warrior with the head of his steed and the point of his lance directed always towards the north as the source of danger. To the princes who held these northmen in check were committed the destinies of the empire. And in this way the northern tribes exercised for centuries, throughout the third or Chau dynasty, an important political influence. To give a historical instance: The house of Chau rose from a small warlike principality in the mountains of the northwest; they were strong by conflict with their savage enemies, and their chief was the bulwark of the nation. Wen-wang, by his growing power, roused the jealousy of his suzerain, the last emperor of the second or Shang dynasty, and was by him imprisoned. When the northmen made a sudden irruption, Wen-wang was set free and invested with greater power than ever; he remained loyal; but his son used the trained forces, not only to drive back the invaders, but also to overthrow the throne of his master, the Shang emperor.

In the early part of the Chau period, China had two capitals; one in the west, near Singan fu (about one hundred miles southwest of the great bend of the Hoang ho), in Shensi; and the other in the east, near the present Kaifung fu, in Honan. The former was sacked by the Tartars in 781 B.C. The heir to the throne removed to the eastern capital. But even here, in the midst of the central plain, and surrounded by a cordon of feudal States, the emperor, through the plots of a kinsman of his barbarian wife, brought down on himself the anger of her tribe, and was put to flight. By the cupidity of the Tartars, by the treachery of his own envoys, and by the intrigues of his empress, the throne of one Chau emperor after another was menaced and shaken, until the dynasty was brought to fall.

The Confucian annals mention five of the Tartar tribes as finally successful in establishing themselves in the interior of China: two in Shansi, one in Honan, one in Chili, and two in Shantung. This happened doubtless in this way: the feudal

barons asked aid of the Tartar horsemen, and rewarded their services with grants of land. The emperor sought aid in like manner against his unruly vassals. And so, at last, by too great dependence on foreign auxiliaries, the empire became unable to shake off its helpers.

In conclusion, the ethnological relations of the Hiongnu were discussed. It has been much disputed whether they were Turks, Mongols, or Huns; but it is not probable that any satisfactory conclusion will ever be reached. The ancient names, Jung and Tih, are too vague to help us in a philological way. Nor does the earliest literature of China preserve any fragments of these northern tongues, as, for example, Plautus does of the Carthaginian. Nor have these nomads left any monuments of themselves which might help us to answer the question of their origin and belongings.

As for the physical type of the Jung and the Tih, it was doubtless the same as that of the Mongol and Manchu of to-day. The primitive Chinese type, on the other hand, is no longer to be discerned. In southern and central China, it has been everywhere modified by combination with aboriginal inhabitants, whose influence is seen in provincial characteristics; while, in the northern belt, it met with tribes akin to those of Mongolia, and gradually absorbed them.

10. On some recent Assyrian Publications, by Prof. D. G. Lyon, of Cambridge.

Prof. Lyon gave some account of Bezold and Hommel's *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung und verwandte Gebiete*, Friedrich Delitzsch's *The Hebrew Language viewed in the Light of Assyrian Research*, Paul Haupt's *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, his own work entitled *Keilschrifttexte Sargon's*, and of J. N. Strassmaier's *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss der Assyrischen und Akkadischen Wörter im II. Bande der Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*.

After the conclusion of this paper, the customary vote of thanks to the American Academy for the use of its Library was passed, and the Society adjourned, to meet in Baltimore in October.